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THE ANGLO-JAPANESE TREATY

On January 13 Ambassador Ishii gave to American news-distributing agencies in Paris the text of the 1911 Anglo-Japanese Treaty, accompanied by the statement that the provision exempting the United States had been inserted "solely at the suggestion of Japan." This disclosure was prompted by attacks upon Japan in the United States Senate by Senator Reed, of Missouri, and because of the comment upon the same by the American press. The text follows:

The Government of Japan and the Government of Great Britain, having in view important changes which have taken place in the situation since the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese agreement on the 12th of August, 1905, and believing that a revision of that agreement responding to such changes would contribute to the general stability and repose, have agreed upon the following stipulations to replace the agreement above mentioned, such stipulations having the same object as said agreement, namely:

(a) Consolidation and maintenance of general peace in the regions of eastern Asia and India.

(b) Preservation of the common interests of all powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities in commerce and industry of all nations with China.

(c) Maintenance of the territorial rights of the high contracting parties in the regions of eastern Asia and India and the defense of their special interests in said regions.

Article I. It is agreed that whenever in the opinion either of Japan or Great Britain any of the rights and interests referred to in the preamble of this agreement are in jeopardy the two governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly and consider in common the measures which should be taken to safeguard those menaced rights and interests.

Article II. If by reason of an unprovoked attack or aggressive action, wherever arising on the part of any powers, either high contracting party should be involved in war for the defense of its territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble of this agreement, either high contracting party will at once come to the assistance of its ally and will conduct the war in common and make mutual peace in agreement with it.

Article III. The high contracting parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter separate arrangements with another power to prejudice the objects described in the preamble.

Provision Affecting America

Article IV. Should either high contracting party conclude a treaty of general arbitration with a third power, it is agreed that nothing in this agreement shall entail upon such contracting party an obligation to go to war with the power with whom such treaty of arbitration is in force.

Article V. The conditions under which armed assistance would be afforded by either power to the other in the circumstances mentioned in the present agreement, and the means by which such assistance would be made available, will be arranged by the naval and military authorities of the high contracting parties, who will from time to time consult one another fully and freely upon all questions of mutual interest.

Article VI. The present agreement shall come into effect immediately after the date of signature and remain in force ten years from that date. In case neither of the high contracting parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of said ten years its intention of terminating it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the high contracting parties shall have denounced it; but if or when the date fixed for expiration arrives and either ally is actually engaged in war, the alliance shall *ipso facto* continue until peace is concluded.

In faith whereof the undersigned, duly authorized by their respective governments, have signed the agreement and

affixed thereto their seals, done in duplicate, at London, the 13th day of July, 1911.

Supplementing this disclosure, Japan's ambassador to France said, in an interview with the representative of the *New York Evening Post*:

This treaty is the only alliance agreement between England and Japan. There is nothing secret about it, and it is all contained in the document you have in your hand. Furthermore, there is in the history of the proceedings leading up to the adoption of this treaty in this present form the best evidence that there is no ground for talk of war between Japan and the United States, which not only is nonsensical but criminal.

I was Vice-Minister of the Foreign Office at Tokyo in 1911 when this treaty was adopted and am familiar with all the details of the negotiations. The United States at that time was engaged in the consideration of arbitration treaties with various countries. I believe she had already made one with Spain and preliminaries for a similar treaty between America and England then were in progress. Japan realized that a renewal of her own alliance agreement with England in its previous form of 1905 would be embarrassing to England, in view of the possibility of her making an arbitration treaty with America. Because of that realization Japan herself suggested the insertion of Article IV, thus voluntarily depriving herself of British support in the event of hostilities between Japan and the United States.

Do you think for a moment Japan would have made such suggestions if she had had the remotest fear of a war with America? It is true that was ten years ago; but now, in the immediate present, Japan has not availed herself of the privilege, after ten years, to end the agreement with England or to ask for the elimination of Article IV or any other revision.

Japan has no more thought of war with the United States today than in 1911.

JAPAN'S INTERPRETATION OF THE TREATY

Dispatches from Tokio indicate that there is by no means general assent in Japan as to the interpretation of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty indicated by contemporary British comment and by the above statement of Japan's ambassador to Great Britain. The *Kokumin*, one of the most influential of the journals, speaking for this group, says:

At the time the Anglo-American Treaty was concluded, Viscount Kato, the foreign minister, queried London regarding the effect of the new American treaty on the Anglo-Japanese alliance. Sir Edward Grey replied informally that Great Britain considered the new treaty within the application of Article 4. Viscount Kato sent a second note requesting a formal statement of the British Government's position and stating Japan's disapproval of the interpretation of Article 4 as indicated by Lord Grey's first reply. London virtually ignored Viscount Kato by returning an answer almost identical with the first. There the matter dropped and Japan's assent through silence was taken for granted. If we admit the British interpretation of Article 4 the alliance has been a dead letter for six years.

Popular Controversy

Both in the press and in the legislatures of the nations most concerned with renewal or abrogation of this treaty the past month has been one of animated discussion, with radical differences of opinion shown. Signs point to the British Government's postponement of any formal decision until after the conference of the premiers and other representatives of the Dominions which is to be held in London this spring. Then, not only this grave issue will be met and formally answered, but also others involving British policy in Asia.